

A Grammar of Purisimeño

by

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0 Introduction

Purisimeño is one of 6 Chumashan languages previously spoken in coastal and inland Southern California. According to King (1975: 174), Purisimeño territory extended from roughly modern day Orcutt, California (historical *Qasil*) south to the ocean. Territory extended eastward (and inland) to modern-day Gaviota, California (between historic 'Onomyo and 'Anawpe).

The Purisimeño data here come primarily from the papers of John Peabody Harrington (Harrington 1986: 13-14). Some of these data are novel, and other data is a rehearing of previously collected (by other linguists) data. Harrington himself recorded no one who identified as primarily a Purisimeño American Indian. Purisimeño had suffered the loss of many speakers by the time Harrington was documenting languages in the area, and most speakers had either passed on or had (been) relocated to Mission Santa Ynez. The consultants who provided Harrington with data were María Solares, Simplicio Pico, and Rosario Cooper (Harrington 1986: 14). Reheard material was taken from H. W. Henshaw and Alphonse Pinart.

Purisimeño data are far from complete, and there are few systematic attempts to acquire grammatical paradigms. Many words have variations in pronunciation, and it is not always clear if this is a difference in speakers, dialects, or influence from the speaker's primary language(s). Few complex clauses are offered in the data, and nothing really approaching connected speech is given but a poorly transcribed Lord's Prayer. I offer as much of a grammatical sketch as can be determined from the limited data. This grammar is organized as follows: phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax.

The grammatical abbreviations used here and in the accompanying lexicon are given below.

1	first person	OBI	Obispeño
2	second person	OBJ	object
3	third person	OVLP	overlap
<i>adj.</i>	adjective	PART	partitive
APL	applicative	PCC	Proto-Central Chumash
ART	article	PL	plural number
ASSC	associative	POSS	possessive
BOI	Barbareño	PRCL	particle
C	either affricate (ts/c or tš/č)	<i>pre.</i>	prefix
CAUS	causative	PRF	perfect
<i>Cf.</i>	cross-reference	<i>pro.</i>	pronoun
<i>conj.</i>	conjunction	PRO.FORM	pronominal formative
COORD	coordinator	<i>Prdgm.</i>	paradigmatic form
CPLV	completive	PROHB	prohibitive
CRZ	Cruzeño (Ysleño, Canaleño)	PSC	Proto-Southern Chumash
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	PST	past tense
DEM	demonstrative	PUY	Purisimeño
DEPR	depreciative	<i>redup.</i>	reduplicated form
DES	desiderative	REDUP	reduplicated
DIST	distal	REFL	reflexive
DU	dual number	RESL	resultative
<i>Etym.</i>	etymology	ROS	Roseño dialect of Cruzeño
<i>excl.</i>	exclamation	S	singular number
FUT	future	S	either sibilant (s or š)
INSTR	instrumental	SBJ	subject
INTRR	interrogative	STAT	stative
INZ	Ineseño, Ineseño S ^h amala	<i>suf.</i>	suffix
<i>intr.</i>	interjection	TAG	tag question
IPFV	imperfective	UNSP	unspecified number
IRR	irrealis	v.	verb
LOC	locative	V	any vowel
<i>Morph.</i>	morphology	<i>Var.</i>	phonetic variant
<i>n.</i>	noun	VEO	Ventureño
NEC	necessitative	VZ	verbalizer
NEG	negative	VZ.PROP	property verbalizer
NSG	non-singular	I	first of two similar morphemes
NPL	non-plural	II	second of two similar morphemes
<i>num.</i>	number		
NZ	nominalizer		

1 Phonetics and phonology

Purisimeño phonetics and phonology are similar to those found in sister Central Chumashan languages. Differences are noted as are uncertainties in analysis.

1.1 Consonants

The consonants of Purisimeño are presented in Table 1. Some notes on individual sounds follow.

Table 1: Purisimeño consonants

		bilabial	alveolar	postalveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
stop	plain	p	t			k	q		' [ʔ]
	aspirated	p ^h	t ^h			k ^h	q ^h		
	ejective	p̰	t̰			k̰	q̰		
fricative	plain		s	š [ʃ]			(x) [χ]	ḥ [ħ]	h
	aspirated		s ^h	š ^h					
	ejective		s̰	š̰					
affricate	plain		ts	tš [tʃ]					
	aspirated		ts ^h	tš ^h					
	ejective		tš̰	tš̰					
approximant	plain	w	(ɬ) [ɬ] l		y [j]				
	glottalized	w̰	l̰		y̰				
nasal	plain	m	n						
	glottalized	m̰	n̰						

1.1.1 Lateral fricative

The voiceless alveolar lateral fricative <ɬ> [ɬ] seems to be an allophone of the voiced alveolar lateral approximant /l/. The voiceless lateral appears at syllable boundaries.

1.1.2 Dorsal/radical fricative

The voiceless uvular fricative <x> [χ] seems to have been in the process of backing to a voiceless pharyngeal fricative <ḥ> [ħ]. The two fricatives cannot be found in contrastive distribution. Their distribution does not seem to be complementary, either, though. It seems a wholesale sound change to the pharyngeal was in progress; if there had been a conditioning environment, it was obscured by the time the language was recorded. Some speakers seem to use [χ] more than [ħ], but this may be a matter of orthography, or L1 (non-Purisimeño) influence.

1.1.3 The glottal stop

The glottal stop seems to have the status of a semi-consonant in Purisimeño. For example, the article 'a- is not regularly recorded with its initial glottal stop. This can be seen in examples (1) and (2), where the article in (1) does not have a glottal stop but the article in (2) does.

- (1) *aštiwalula'a*
'a-s-tiwalula'a
ART.I-3.POSS-flute
'his flute'
3.6.1658.1

- (2) *'akal*
'a-k-'al
ART.I-1.POSS-liver
'my liver'
3.6.34.1

1.2 Vowels

The vowels in Purisimeño are given in Table 2. The exact backness of /a/ is difficult to determine without audio, but at the least it can be determined that it is non-front.

Table 2: Purisimeño vowels			
	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e	ə	o
low		a	

1.2.1 Voiceless vowels

All vowels have voiceless counterparts that are common at the ends of words and or following glottalized elements. This is illustrated in examples (3) and (4) where the word for 'abalone' has one form without a voiceless echo vowel and one form with this vowel. Occasionally, these echo vowels have fully voiced counterparts. Purisimeño appears to be in an in-between stage for the vocalization of echo vowels whereas Ventureño, in comparison, has fully voiced the vowels though not in the same places, necessarily, as Ventureño.

- (3) *lakšlulu 'alap*
 lakšlulu 'alap
 be.red abalone
 'black abalone'
 3.6.38.2

- (4) *paxakšit ka'alapq!*
 p-axakš-it ka-'alapq
 2.SBJ-give-1s.OBJ ART-abalone
 'give me abalone!'
 3.6.90.1

2 Phonology

Phonological variation (no matter the phoneme) seems to be inconsistently represented in the data. An account here is given of the most common phonological variations which can be well-attested for in the data.

2.1 Obstruent aspiration

When two of the same consonants—non-ejective stops (*p, t, k, q*), affricates (*ts, tš*), and non-dorsal/radical fricatives (*s, š*)—are adjacent, one aspirates and the second can delete. This is a common phonological process in Chumashan languages, although the process is not well-documented in the Purisimeño data. An example of aspirated *s^h* is given in examples (5) and (6).

- (5) *tis^hili'ip*
 ti-s-sili-'ip
 INTRR-3.SBJ-des-say
 'what did he say?'
 3.6.376.1

Obstruent aspiration seems to be particularly weak on the coronal fricatives. This can be seen in example (6), where both of the forms were given for the same translation.

- (6) *molos^həkə* or *molosəkə*
 moloq-s-səkə
 PRF-3.SBJ-rise
 ‘the sun has already risen’
 3.6.330.1, 457.1

The obstruents *p*, *t*, *k*, *q*, *ts*, and *tš* aspirate before other consonants—this includes semi-vowels—with some regularity. Example (7) illustrates this where a *k* aspirates before *w*.

- (7) *’ok^hwop*
 ’a-k-wop
 ART.I-1.POSS-son
 ‘my son’
 3.6.30.1

2.2 Deletion of *k* before a *k̰*

The voiceless velar stop *k* deletes before an ejective counterpart. This affects the morphophonology of the language, as the first person subject prefix and first person possessive prefix are *k-*. It is unclear if similar types of deletion occur with other stop consonants. In example (8), deletion of the velar stop (first person possessive) is illustrated. Note that *k-* as a possessive morpheme is common before body parts that do not begin with *k̰*.

- (8) *kakoluyo̤*
 ka-k-*k̰*oluyo̤
 ART-1.POSS-brains
 ‘my brains’
 3.6.368.2

2.3 Semi-vowel behavior

Both the semi-vowels *w* and *y* take part in several phonological processes, and those are covered here.

Vowels can reduce to voiceless semi-vowels (*i* to *y*) before voiceless obstruents. This happens in example (9) where *i* → *y* before *t*.

- (9) *nunayt*
 nu-na-it
 COM-go-1S.OBJ
 take me!
 3.6.387.1

A similar resolution to hiatus-avoidance is found when *i* and *u* follow another vowel. Both vowels in such circumstances reduce to *y* and *w*, respectively. This is illustrated in (10) for *u* and (11) for *i*.

- (10) *ksawtipepe anə*
 k-sa-utipepe a-nə
 1.SBJ-FUT-bring ART.I-firewood
 ‘I am going to bring firewood’
 3.6.377.2

- (11) *ksayk^hili anə*
 k-sa-ik^hili a-nə
 1.SBJ-FUT-get ART.I-fire
 ‘I am going to pick up firewood’
 3.6.395.2

Semi-vowels can also be inserted to break up situations of hiatus. This can be seen in (12), where the underlying form with hiatus of *i* and *i* can be broken up with the semi-vowel *y*. It seems that, although hiatus is broadly avoided in the language, it is not outright prevented.

- (12) *kakii’ap ~ kakiiy’ap ~ kakiyi’ap ~ kakiyiy’ap*
 ka-k-iy-iy’ap
 ART-1.POSS-PL-house
 ‘house of us three or more’
 3.6.384.2

A sound change Harrington notes is the deletion of the semi-vowel *y* in the word *kay* ‘third person singular pronoun.’ Harrington notes that this happens with verbs, and the data do suggest that there is not a phonological conditioning. Since this cannot be ruled out, however, and since the alternation may be one of free variation, it is included in this section. Examples

of the alternation are given in examples (14) and (15). Example (13) illustrates an unaltered use of *kay*.

(13) *kay kamišwaš*

kay *ka-miš-waš*

3S PRED-cry-PST

‘he cried’

3.6.408.1

(14) *kikə’ə kakiyamišwaš*

kikə’ə *kay=k-iy-?al-miš-waš*

1PL 3S=1.SBJ-PL-?NZ-cry-PST

‘they three or more cried’

Perhaps more literally, ‘they 3+ [are] who cried’

3.6.408.1

(15) *pikə’ə kapiyamišwaš*

pikə’ə *kay=p-iy-?al-miš-waš*

2PL 3S=2.SBJ-PL-?NZ-cry-PST

‘you three or more cried’

Perhaps more literally, ‘you 3+ [are] who cried’

3.6.408.1

2.4 Voiceless vowels

Voiceless vowels can be found in all Central Chumashan languages. They are typically (voiceless) echo vowels that follow a *Vʔ* sequence: *VʔY*. In Barbareño, S^hamala, and Ventureño, echo vowels seem best classified as an element of free variation since their use is not consistent.¹ In Purisimeño, however, voiceless vowels seem to have a more regular presence. It is unclear if the variation that does occur is a matter of speaker’s knowledge, dialect, or other artefact. Some words with echo vowels and their variations without echo vowels are given in examples (16)-(18).

(16) *kəpə’ə ~ kəpə*

‘now’

3.6.39.2, 319.2

¹ In the case of Ventureño, many historical voiceless echo vowels have become fully voiced.

- (17) *kikə'ə ~ kikə' ~ kikə*
 'we three or more'
 3.6.406.2, 408.1

- (18) *'alapə ~ 'alap*
 'abalone'
 3.6.91.1

It is probably easiest to analyze the underlying forms in such cases as having no echo vowel. However, the presence/absence of an echo vowel (and a preceding glottal stop) is sometimes contrastive. Consider *nono* 'grandfather,' which has no alternate pronunciations, and *nono'o*, which has the alternate pronunciations *nono'* and *nono*, and which means 'to be much.' Because glottal stops and resultant echo vowels have the potential to be distinctive if not also contrastive, words with glottal stops and or echo vowels are usually presented with those elements of phonetics in the citation form of the word.

2.5 Vowel insertion

The first person singular *k-* and second person singular *p-* are separated from (some) *y-* initial roots with an epenthetic vowel *-a-*. This is illustrated in example (19) for *k-* and example (20) for *p-*.

- (19) *k^he kayeχ*
k^he k-yeχ
 here 1.SBJ-be.present
 'here I am alone'
 3.6.353.2

- (20) *pi kapayeχ*
pi ka=p-yeχ
 2s PRED=2.SBJ-be.present
 'you are here'
 3.6.353.2

This seems to extend even to the dual when it has been reduced to *-š*. This can be seen in example (21) where *kiš-* has been reduced to *kš-* before the root *yex* 'to be present.'

- (21) *pi na no k^{he} kšayeŋ*
 pi na no k^{he} k-iš-yeŋ
 2s COORD 1s here 1.SBJ-DU-be.present
 ‘you and I are here’
 3.6.353.2

Compare this to examples (22) and (23) below where the plural morpheme *i(y)-* does not require an epenthetic vowel.

- (22) *kahu kiyeŋwaš*
 kahu k-iy-yeŋ-waš
 NPROX 1.SBJ-PL-be.present-PST
 ‘we are there’
 3.6.354.1

- (23) *kaku šiyēŋwaš*
 kaku s-iy-yeŋ-waš
 NPROX 3.SBJ-PL-be.present-PST
 ‘they are there’
 3.6.354.1

2.6 Sibilant harmony

In Purisimeño, a root and all its affixes must generally have sibilants at only one of two places of articulation: alveolar (*s*, *s^h*, *ś*, *ts*, *ts^h*, *tś*) or post alveolar (*š*, *š^h*, *š̌*, *tš*, *tš^h*, *tś̌*). This sibilant harmony is regressive such that the right-most sibilant typically controls the place of articulation of all preceding sibilants.

Affixes likely to either cause harmony are the resultative *-aš*, the past tense *-waš*, and the applicative *-us*. Affixes likely to change because of harmony include the future *sa-*, the causative *su-*, the desiderative *sili-*, the dual *(i)š-*, and the third person *s-*. Examples (24)-(27) illustrate this sibilant harmony.

- (24) *kaku šiyēŋwaš*
 kaku s-iy-yeŋ-waš
 NPROX 3.SBJ-PL-be.present-PST
 ‘they are there’
 3.6.354.1

- (25) *kašiši'ap*
 ka-s-iš-iy'ap
 ART-3.POSS-DU-house
 'house of them two'
 3.6.384.2
- (26) *kaškahlaš*
 kaškahlaš
 ka-s-kahlaš
 ART-3.POSS-breath
 'his/her breath'
 3.6.340.1
- (27) *mološmeaš kakahwa*
 moloq-s-meaš ka-kahwa
 PRF-3.SBJ-be.half ART-moon
 'the moon is already half full'
 3.6.39.1

2.7 Dissimilation

A dissimilation rule causes alveolar sibilants in Purisimeño to become post-alveolar when coming before alveolar obstruents. This is illustrated in (28) where the third person singular *s*- becomes *š*- before *n*.

- (28) *tušna ?*
 tu-s-na
 where-3.SBJ-go
 'where is he going?'
 3.6.345.1

2.8 Reduplication

Purisimeño, like all Chumashan languages, exhibits several patterns of reduplication. One of the most common patterns of reduplication, which is illustrated in example (29), involves the replication of a word's leftmost CVC structure. The translation of the reduplication is not given in

the gloss since the particular semantics imparted by reduplication changes by word class and context.

- (29) *mołmoloq* *miš ~ mišmiš*
 ‘before’ ‘to cry’
 3.6.852.1 3.6.39.1

Reduplication can involve the augmentation of a word-internal consonantal segment. This is illustrated in example (30) where the original *w* has become *w* in the reduplication.

- (30) *nowo’o ~ nownowo’o*
 ‘to stand’
 3.6.355.1, 383.1

Other patterns of reduplication are illustrated in examples (31) and (32). Non-reduplicated forms are given for comparison.

- (31) $C_1V_1C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_2V_1C_2V_2$
 mitši ~ mitšitši
 ‘little, small’
 3.6.343.1

- (32) $C_1V_1C_2V_2C_2V_2 \rightarrow C_1V_1C_2V_2C_2V_2C_2V_2$
 na’ə’ə ~ na’ə’ə’ə
 ‘old man/men’
 3.6.640.1

Some reduplication patterns involve the insertion (or preservation) of a glottal element, but the commonality of such patterns is uncertain. Example (33) illustrates reduplication with *h* and glottalization, and example (34) illustrates reduplication with *h*.

- (33) $C_1V_1 > C_1V_1hC_1V_1\acute{C}_1V_1$
snahnana kalimu
 s-na.REDUP ka-limu
 3.SBJ-go.REDUP ART.II-fish
 ‘the fish go’
 3.6.351.2

- (34) $C_1V_1 \rightarrow C_1V_1hC_1V_1$
nə ~ nəhnə
 ‘fire, firewood/trees’
 3.6.1095.1

An interesting feature of Purisimeño is the ability to find inflectional affixes incorporated into reduplicated forms. In example (35), there is use of the second person subject prefix *p-*. In (36), this element is included in the reduplication. This is uncommon-to-non-existent in the sister language.

- (35) *nipitaq!*
 ni-p-itaq
 NEG-2.SBJ-listen
 ‘don’t listen!’
 3.6.382.1

- (36) *pitpitaq*
 p-itaq.REDUP
 2.SBJ-listen.REDUP
 ‘you are listening’
 3.6.381.2

3 Morphology

While Chumashan languages allow for the formation of long, complex words, only some of that morphological complexity has come through in the Purisimeño data. What morphological intricacy the language does exhibit is presented in this section. Nominal morphology is covered first and verbal morphology is covered second. Adjectives and pronouns are covered after. Some affixes, such as tense affixes, are not restricted to a word class though they may be more commonly found on one word class over another.

3.1 Nouns and nominal morphology

The noun template for Purisimeño is presented in Table 3.

Table 3: Noun template

ART-PERSON.POSS-NUMBER.POSS-ASSC-noun-RESL/PST/DEPR

3.1.1 Person and number possession

Person and number of possessor can be marked on a noun with pertainive prefixes. The combination of possible prefixes is presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Person/number pertainive prefixes

	1 st	2 nd	3 rd
singular	<i>k-</i>	<i>p-</i>	<i>s-</i>
dual	<i>k(i)š-</i>	<i>p(i)š-</i>	<i>šiš-</i>
plural	<i>ki(y)-</i>	<i>pi(y)-</i>	<i>si(y)-</i>
unspecified			<i>alam-</i>

The vowel *i* between the person prefix and the fricative of the dual can delete in the first dual and second dual. The third person was, in an older form of the language, *ts-*, and this element can still be found in this form in some words in Purisimeño: *tskumu* ‘four’ (lit., ‘it comes’). Even in these words, however, there is usually variation between the fricative and affricate: *tskumu* ~ *skumu* ‘four.’²

Unspecified number, which is primarily indicated by the prefix *am-*, only appears with the nominalizer *al-* when used as a possessive morpheme. The number marker is used when the number of people possessing an item is unknown/uncertain (possibly one, but possibly more than one). This can be seen in example (37) where the meat belongs to the bodies of animals, but the number is unknown (and or unimportant).

² Indeed, variation between affricates and their fricative counterparts seems to be common in the language, particularly in word-initial position.

- (37) *nono'q ksiliy'uw kalamaxtap*
 nono'q k-sili-'uw ka-al-am-axtap
 be.much 1.SBJ-DES-eat ART.II-NZ-UNSP-meat(partly cooked)
 'I really want to eat medium rare meat'
 3.6.361.1

3.1.2 Articles

Like other Chumashan languages (Klar 1977), Purisimeño also has articles which can (?must) be used in combination with nouns. The exact function of the articles is uncertain, but a few observations can be made. First, there are two articles: 'a- and *ka-*. The article 'a- seems to be used as a type of default in citation form, and it can be tentatively posited that it functions as a marker of indefiniteness or unidentifiability. If that is so, then the article *ka-* might be considered to mark aspects of definiteness and or identifiability.

There is no text of sufficient length to more accurately determine the meaning of the articles. However, there are a handful of paradigmatic presentations the accompanying translations for which might give the reader a feel for the use of the articles. These are presented in examples (38)-(39).

- (38) *škəkš nawaš 'akawayu*
 s-kəkš na-waš 'a-kawayu
 3.SBJ-do.oneself go-PST ART.I-horse
 'he went on horseback'
 3.6.354.

- (39) *škəkš tika kakawayu*
 s-kəkš tika ka-kawayu
 3.SBJ-do.oneself mount.smth ART.II-horse
 'he got on the horse'
 3.6.354.

3.1.3. The associative

The associative prefix *itš-* (variants: *is-*, *iš-*, *itš-*) is used with nouns that typically have a strong association with an individual. This includes tools like walking carrying nets (example 40), friends (example 41) and select body parts, such as the pinkie and thumb (examples 42 and 43, respectively). The word for 'friend' is an interesting form as the base can evidently be used with and without the initial vowel *i-* of the associative (examples 44 and 45).

- | | |
|--|---|
| (40) <i>ištiwa'q</i>
'carrying net'
3.6.404.1 | (41) <i>itš[̣]antək</i>
'friend'
3.6.220.1 |
| (42) <i>išwatimitši</i>
pinkie
3.6.274.1 | (43) <i>išwatinox̂</i>
thumb
3.6.34.1, 276.1 |
| (44) <i>kakitš[̣]antək</i>
ka-k-itš-'antək
ART.II-1.POSS-ASSC-friend
'my friend'
3.6.220.1 | |
| (45) <i>haku tš[̣]antək^h</i>
haku itš-'antək ^h
hello/what's.up ASSC-friend
'what's up, friend?'
3.6.220.1 | |

3.1.4 Tense marking

Of the three tense markers in Purisimeño —future, immediate future, and past tense— at least the past tense *-waš* is attested on nouns. It is usually used with nouns which represent something that took place in the past and is somehow relevant to or enduring into the present. This can be seen in the word for 'footprint' in example (46), whose root may derive from an older word for 'foot/leg' found in other Chumashan languages.³

- (46) *'e'ewaš*
 'pawprint, footprint'
 3.6.34.1

The past tense is an element in the depreciative suffix *-iwaš*. The depreciative is used for nouns which are old, late, useless, or former in nature. Henry-Rodriguez (2019: 184) analyzes this same suffix in Ventureño as a combination of the completive *-i* and the past tense *-waš*. There is no reason

³ Compare Ventureño *'əl* 'foot/leg.'

to offer a different analysis for Purisimeño, though an observation must be made that the completive is not an otherwise robust suffix in the language. Example (47) illustrates use of the depreciative on the word for ‘body.’

- (47) 'aməniwaš
 'amə-n-iwaš
 body-VZ.II-DEPR
 ‘corpse’
 3.6.33.1

3.2 Verbal morphology

Verbal morphology is divided into a discussion of roots, inner (more derivational) manner prefixes, and outer (more inflectional) affixes.

3.2.1 Verb roots

Verb roots generally do not appear alone, although the imperative with singular subject is an exception to this. This is illustrated in example (48); note that some verb roots have specialized imperative forms.⁴

- (48) 'ə'ə!
 'eĥ.IMP
 sit.IMP
 sit!
 3.6.383.1

3.2.2 Manner (“instrumental”) prefix

Like all Chumashan languages—indeed, like many languages of California—Purisimeño verb roots can be accompanied by manner (historically called “instrumental”) affixes which indicate how or in what manner an action is accomplished (Henry 2012: 204). Manner affixes in Purisimeño are prefixes, and different affixes can be combined with a verb root. Examples (49)–(51) illustrate three of these manner prefixes (examples from accompanying lexicon).

⁴ The verbs may be historically unrelated. Notice the difference in vowel quality.

- (49) *aqi-* ~ *aîi-* ‘of punctual action, of action done in many instances’

aqiwəwə

aqi-wəwə

INSTR.punctual-move.through.the.water

‘to swim’

- (50) *nu-* ‘comitative’

nuna

nu-na

COM-go

‘to bring’

- (51) *oîto-* ‘by air, through the air’

(possibly *aqta-* underlying, as in Ventureño)

soîtonowo

su-oîto-nowo

CAUS-INSTR.air-stand

‘to clean, to winnow’

Manner prefixes can be used together, but generally an individual prefix cannot be used more than once in a base. There is an indication that Purisimeño had a number of manner prefixes, but since there are so few words recorded, there are few examples of prefix uses. Most prefixes have to be identified and translated by comparing Purisimeño words with similar or identical words in Ventureño or Shamala (Ineseño).

3.2.3 Valency

There are several more peripheral affixes that can alter the valency of a verb. The list below in Table 5 summarizes these affixes and their function. Examples of the affixes and a more explicit discussion of their function follows in examples (52)-(59).⁵

Table 5: Valency changing prefixes

su- causative

sili- desiderative

nu- comitative

⁵ Examples (52)-(55) and (58)-(59) are taken from the accompanying dictionary.

- (52) *kitwo* (53) *sukitwo*
 ‘to come out’ ‘to take out’

- (54) *’uw* (55) *siliy’uw*
 ‘eat’ ‘to want to eat’

- (56) *niṗuw!*
 ni-p-’uw
 NEG-2.SBJ-eat
 ‘don’t eat it!’
 3.6.379.2

- (57) *nono’ṓ ksiliy’uw kalamaâtap*
 nono’ṓ k-sili-’uw ka-al-am-aâtap
 be.much 1.SBJ-DES-eat ART.I-NZ-UNSP-meat(partly cooked)
 ‘I really want to eat medium rare meat’
 3.6.361.1

- (58) *na* (59) *nuna*
 ‘to go’ ‘to bring’

3.2.4 Subject and object marking

Purisimeño subject and object marking is affixed to the base. Prefixes mark number and person of the subject (Table 6) and suffixes mark the same for object (Table 7), although with fewer differences in number.

Table 6: Subject prefixes				
	singular	dual	plural	unspecified
1 st	<i>k-</i>	<i>k(i)š-</i>	<i>ki(y)-</i>	
2 nd	<i>p-</i>	<i>p(i)š-</i>	<i>pi(y)-</i>	
3 rd	<i>s-</i>	<i>šiš-</i>	<i>ši(y)-</i>	<i>sam-</i>

Table 7: Object suffixes

	singular	non-singular
1 st	-it	-(i)yuw
2 nd	-iŋ ~ -in	
3 rd	-Ø/-us	-wuŋ/-uswuŋ
reflexive	-še'e ~ -ši'y	

Use of the subject and object affixes is illustrated in examples (60)-(63).

(60) *šiš^hapnušmutš*

s-iš-šapnušmutš

3.SBJ-DU-be.married

'they two are married'

3.6.945.1

(61) *saptimayuw kata'*

s-aptima-iyuw

ka-ta'

3.SBJ-crush-1/2.NSG.OBJ ART.II-oak

'the oak crushed you two (or more)'

3.6.422.2

(62) *kaqnikətuswuŋ*

k-aqnikət-us-wuŋ

1.SBJ-remember-APL-PL.OBJ

'I remember them'

3.6.317.2

(63) *nokš kukaškašnipətši'y*

nokš

ku-<k-ašnipət>.REDUP-ši'y

be.I.alone IMMD-<1.SBJ-kick>.REDUP-REFL

'I am going to kick myself'

3.6.358.1

3.2.5 Tense and aspect

Purisimeño has several peripheral affixes that convey aspect and tense. Affixes such as the verbalizing property suffix *-Vtš*, the resultative *-Vš*, and perhaps the past tense *-waš* seem to make use of the general imperfective *-š*. The imperfective is uncommon in the extant data.

Imperfective

The imperfective *-š* appears in several verbal and nominalized verbal forms. In most (all?) uses it seems to be lexicalized. At times its contribution to meaning is made clear by the root (example 64), but in other cases it is not (example 65).

- (64) *šaštəwəkš*
s-aštəwək-š
3.SBJ-be.green-IPFV
'it is green'
3.6.1099.1

- (65) *škəkš tiliki kaśəl*
s-kək-š tiliki ka-s-'əl
3.SBJ-do.oneself-IPFV cut ART.II-3.POSS-foot/leg
'he cut himself on his foot'
3.6.1382.1

Resultative

The resultative *-Vš* is used to mark events which are the result of a process. The final word's class is usually noun or verb. The vowel in the resultative sometimes undergoes harmony with vowels earlier in the root, as in example (66) below. This harmony rule is not absolute, however, and it seems the vowel *ə* is used in situations where harmony does not apply. If a resultative has resulted in a noun, additional nominalizing morphophonology might accompany the word as in example (66).

- (66) *aḡikuṃu* 'axkimaš
aḡikuṃu '-axkim-aš
dance NZ-dance-RESL
'to dance' 'dance'
3.6.317.1

Verbalizing property suffix

The verbalizing property suffix is probably a combination of several suffixes historically. For a cognate suffix in Ventureño, Henry-Rodriguez (2019) suggests the analysis: -V (first verbalizing suffix, vowel quality varies), -n (second verbalizing suffix which has historically mostly disappeared word-finally), -t (epenthetic consonant), and š (the imperfective). The suffix is used in forming a verb which typically denotes the end, often lasting result of a process. This is illustrated by the verb ‘to be married’ in example (67).

- (67) *šapnušmutš*
‘to be married’
3.6.325.1, 945.1

Perfect

Purisimeño has a perfect aspect marker *moloq=*/*molok=* (more commonly *molo=-*, especially before consonants). The Purisimeño perfect indicates the continuing relevance of a past situation. Comrie (1976: 52) discusses the more specific uses that a perfect may have typologically (e.g., the perfect of a result), but there are too few instances of connected language over a period time to determine the possible more fine-tuned uses of the perfect in Purisimeño. Note that the perfect is similar in form and location to the word *moloq* ‘before,’ and perhaps the former evolved from the latter. Examples of the perfect are given in (68)-(70).

- (68) *moloqskitwo kaŋuťu*
moloq=s-kitwo ka-ŋuťu
PRF-3.SBJ-come.out ART.II-sun
‘the sun has already come out’
3.6.39.2

- (69) *moloqstapi*
moloq=s-tapi
PRF-3.SBJ-be.late
‘it is already late’
3.6.39.2

- (70) *moloksana*
 moloq=k-sa-na
 PRF-1.SBJ-FUT-go
 ‘I am going’ (but have not yet left)
 (perhaps better translated as, ‘I will have (been) gone’)
 3.6.316.2

The lack of context is particularly problematic when determining the meaning and use of this affix. However, with example (70), Harrington gives us extra context. The interpretation of the verb in the present progressive is interesting considering that the verb has an explicit future prefix.⁶

Reduplication and aspect

Reduplication on verbs typically alters the aspect of the verb. Aspect such as habituality, repetition, iteration, and duration can be conveyed.

- (71) *ksakuti*
 k-sa-kuti
 1.SBJ-FUT-see
 ‘I am going to see’
 3.6.316.2

- (72) *k^hutikuti kakahwa’a*
 k-kuti.REDUP ka-kahwa’a
 1.SBJ-see.REDUP ART.II-moon
 ‘I am looking at the moon’
 3.6.39.1

- (73) *molokpəyə*
 moloq-k-pəyə
 PRF-1.SBJ-be.hungry
 ‘I’m already hungry’
 3.6.347.2

⁶ I believe my retranslation better captures the meaning intended by the original speaker, but I recognize this is speculative on my part.

(74) *molokpəypəyə*
 moloq-k-pəyə.REDUP
 PRF-1.SBJ-be.hungry.REDUP
 ‘I now hunger’
 3.6.347.2

(75) *kəypəyəyə*
 kpəyə
 1.SBJ-be.hungry.REDUP
 ‘I hungered’
 3.6.347.2

Purisimeño has three tense affixes: the future *sa-*, the immediate future *ku-*, and the past *-waš*. Like aspect affixes, tense affixes attach more on the periphery of the verbal element. The reference time of a speech act is relative to when the speech act is conceived of as taking place in Ventureño (Henry 2012) and other Chumashan languages. There is every reason to believe that this was the case in Purisimeño, but no easy way to demonstrate it exists.

The default tense interpretation of an unmarked verb tends to be the past. This is an artefact of translation, however, as the past tense interpretation comes from an understanding of the event as having taken place in the past. Since the event is already cast in the past (or presumed to be so), an explicit tense marker in Purisimeño is not necessary. This means that any verb, if unmarked, is tenseless or, to look at it another way, is available to be interpreted in any tense. Examples of the explicit use of tense marking are given in examples (76)–(78).

(76) *ksana*
 k-sa-na
 1.SBJ-FUT-go
 ‘I will go’
 3.6.351.1

(77) *kukna*
 ku-k-na
 IMMD-1.SBJ-go
 ‘I am going to go’
 3.6.357.2

- (78) *no' keŋpetšwaš*
 no' k-eŋpetš-waš
 1s 1.SBJ-sing-PST
 'I sang'
 3.6.407.2

The immediate future would seem to indicate a more imminent and likely event, while the future prefix indicates a more distant and or less likely event. This is reflected in the translation of the words *ksana* and *kukna*. All the same, the future is not infrequently translated with a 'be V-ing' construction.

Something like mood is found expressed with the prefix *yo-*, which seems to indicate necessity. In both examples in which it appears, it is used with the future prefix. Both uses of *yo-* are given below in examples (79) and (80).

- (79) *yoksana mama*
 yo-k-sa-na mama
 NEC-1.SBJ-FUT-go home
 'I need to go home'
 3.6.384.1

- (80) *yoksana alapa*
 yo-k-sa-na a-lapay
 NEC-1.SBJ-FUT-go ART.I-heaven
 'I need to go to heaven'
 3.6.384.1

3.2.6 Negation

Negative constructions can be formed with one of the three prefixes in Table 8. The precise meaning of *a-* is uncertain given that it only appears in one word. The consultant seemed to think it interchangeable with *ni-* in context.

Note that the prohibitive incorporates the general negative element. While there are examples of the prohibitive being used (see section 4.6.1), it is also interchangeable with the general marker of negation *ni-* (example 81).

Table 8: Prefixes of negation

<i>ni-</i>	general negation
<i>'ini-</i>	prohibition
<i>a-</i>	?negation

- (81) *pawe* or *nipwe*
 p-a-we *ni-p-we*
 2.SBJ-?NEG-sleep NEG-2.SBJ-sleep
 ‘do not sleep!’
 3.6.380.2

3.3 Adjectives

A subset of verbal items in Purisimeño do not require third person marking when used as a predicate. For the sake of simplicity, I call these adjectives, and they constitute a closed class of words in the language. A list of documented adjectives is given in Table 9.

Table 9: Purisimeño adjectives

<i>'ahə</i>	‘old, aged’
<i>mete'ə</i>	‘near’
<i>mək</i>	‘far’
<i>mitši</i>	‘small’
<i>nono'o</i>	‘much’
<i>noŋ</i>	‘big’
<i>yila'a</i>	‘all’

Adjectives seem to have derived from verbs historically, as they take TAM marking like a verb as with example (83), and adjectives also appear in predicate position (sentence initially) (examples (82) and (83)). It is possible that adjectives in Purisimeño can appear with no person or number marking (the data suggest this). If that is the case, Purisimeño adjectives would differ even from its sister languages’ adjectives. For example, in Ventureño, a similarly small class of adjectives only lack third person subject marking, a number of entities described must be marked even then.

(82) *mete'ę kaĥəp*
 mete'ę ka-ĥəp
 near ART.II-stone
 'the stone is nearby'
 3.6.355.1

(83) *noĥwaš ašup*
 noĥ-waš a-šup
 large-PST ART.I-mountain
 'the mountains are large'
 Given as 'large mountains.'
 3.6.61.1

3.4 Pronouns

Purisimeño has a number of personal and demonstrative pronominal words. They have been organized here as meaningfully as possible. Spanish translations have also been given where possible, as, with demonstrative pronouns, Spanish makes more distance distinctions than English.

3.4.1 Personal pronouns

Personal pronouns are divided by person, number, and distance (or irrelevance of distance) to the speaker. First and second person pronouns are given in Table 10, while third person pronouns are treated separately. Pronouns can typically act as subjects objects, and first and second person pronouns, whether subject or object, are cross-referenced on the verb.

Table 10: 1st and 2nd person pronouns

	singular	dual	plural
first	<i>no</i>	<i>kšawu'ų</i>	<i>kikə'ę</i>
second	<i>pi</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>pikə'ę</i>

A couple observations can be made before moving on. First, the first person dual pronoun has the dual number prefix *(i)š-* in it and also a suffix *-wu'ų* typically used to mark plural objects on verbs. Secondly, the plural pronouns both have the plural element *i(y)-* in them. In addition, they have a common pronominal 'root' *kə'ę* to which the person and number affixes are attached.

3.4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

Purisimeño exhibits a number of demonstrative pronouns the translations of which are, unfortunately, inconsistent. This makes determining more clear-cut grammatical designations for the words difficult if not impossible. Spanish translations are given at times in the original source, and while this helps in the translation into English, inconsistencies still arise, and this makes definitive translations impossible at times.

Table 11 summarizes, as best as possible, the different Purisimeño demonstrative forms. Spanish translations have been provided where given in the source material. Boxes with dashes indicate words for which no English translation was offered.

Table 11: Purisimeño demonstratives								
		Proximal		Broadly medial			Distal	
Location	PUY	<i>’iti</i>	<i>k^he</i>	<i>kak^hu ~ kahu</i>	<i>kšaṇa</i>	<i>kšeṣ</i>	<i>kšu</i>	<i>lo’o</i>
	ENG	‘here’	‘here’	‘there’		—	‘there, yonder’	—
	SPA	aquí	‘aquí’	‘ese’		‘allí’	‘allá’ ⁷	‘allá’
Distance	PUY	<i>naṇa ~ yawi</i>	<i>keṇiwun</i>	<i>kak^hu ~ kahu</i>	<i>kšaṇa</i>	<i>kšeṇe</i>	<i>kšu</i>	<i>k^heṇe</i>
	ENG	‘this’	—	‘that’		—	—	—
	SPA	‘este’	‘estas’	‘ese’		‘eso(s)’	‘aquella’	‘aquel’
Time	PUY	<i>kəpə’o</i>						
	ENG	‘now’						
	SPA	‘ahora’						

As can be seen from Table 11, some demonstratives have broad applications, particularly those that do not refer to clearly near or clearly distal proximity. There is significant variation in the pronunciation of some forms (like *kak^{hu}*), and there does not seem to be a clear distinction between a demonstrative used as a predicate versus a determiner. Finally, while pronouns seem to have been independent phonetic words in some instances, in others they are written together with the following noun.

What, then, CAN be said about demonstratives? First, they precede the modified element (if there is one). Second, their significant variation in pronunciation is likely as much about speed of speech and lexicalization as it does inter-speaker variation. Ventureño experiences similar phonetic variation in its common words (Henry-Rodriguez 2019). Thirdly, there is certainly a story of speech varieties to be told. For instance, Ventureño uses a distal (non-proximal) demonstrative *lo’*, and this is clearly cognate with Purisimeño *lo’o*. Ventureño, however, has neither *kšu* nor *k^{he}ene*. *S^hamala*

⁷ Confusingly translated as ‘este’ as well. This seems to be a mistranslation.

(Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians 2007: 174-175) has the word *ke'ni* 'this, this one' that is probably cognate with Purisimeño *kʰeñe*, but Sʰamala has no cognate (it seems) with *kšu*. Examples (84)–(89) illustrate some uses of demonstrative pronouns.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(84) <i>kakʰu</i>
 'that (is)'
 3.6.356.1</p> | <p>(85) <i>ka(h)ku</i>
 'that's it'
 3.6.34.1</p> |
| <p>(86) <i>kaku kiyexwaš</i>
 <i>kaku=k-iy-eŋ-waš</i>
 there=1.SBJ-PL-exist-PST
 'there we were'
 3.6.354.1</p> | <p>(87) <i>kahušiyexwaš</i>
 <i>kahu=s-iy-eŋ-waš</i>
 there=3.SBJ-PL-exist-PST
 'there they were'
 3.6.354.1</p> |
| <p>(88) <i>kšaŋa kamo</i>
 <i>kšaŋa ka-mo</i>
 that ART.II-man
 'that man'
 3.6.320.1</p> | |
| <p>(89) <i>kʰeñe kamo</i>
 <i>kʰeñe ka-mo</i>
 yon ART.II-man
 'yon man'
 'aquel hombre'
 3.6.344.1</p> | |

4 Syntax

This section covers Purisimeño preferred word order, phrase structure, simple clauses, and complex clauses. As in other sections, what can be said about any constructions is limited by the data and (possibly) fluency of speakers.

4.1 Preferred word order

The preferred word order of Purisimeño seems to be VS/VO, which makes it similar to other Central Chumash languages. This is illustrated in examples (90) and (91).

- (90) *moloqskitwo kaḵuṭu*
 moloq=s-kitwo ka-ḵuṭu
 PRF-3.SBJ-come.out ART.II-sun
 V S
 ‘the sun has already come out’
 3.6.39.2

- (91) *k^hutikuti kakahwa’a*
 k-kuti.REDUP ka-kahwa’a
 1.SBJ-see.REDUP ART.II-moon
 V O
 ‘I am looking at the moon’
 3.6.39.1

Sentences with full noun phrases for subject and object are rare; such a rare sentence is given in (92). Word order here is VSO.

- (92) *s^huwehle kakawayu kamitšaku*
 s-suwehle ka-kawayu ka-mitšaku
 3.SBJ-throw.off ART.II-horse ART.II-boy
 V S O
 ‘the horse threw the boy’
 3.6.360.1

Although predicate-initial word order is common in the data, the subject can appear left of the predicate, and special marking of such constructions is not required. This is illustrated in example (93).

- (93) *kamo swi šlaštawəḵš*
 ka-mo s-wi šlaštawəḵš
 ART.II-man 3.SBJ-have medicine
 S V O
 ‘the man has medicines’
 3.6.1206.1

4.2 Phrase structure

The structure of noun phrases and predicates is covered in this section.

4.2.1 Noun phrase structure

Noun phrases typically have the structure: demonstrative/adjective/number + noun + (coordinator + noun). This is illustrated in examples (94) and (95)

- (94) *no na pi kšašnipətpət*
no na pi k-iš-sa-šnipət.REDUP
1S COOR 2S 1.SBJ-DU-FUT-kick.REDUP
'you and I are going to kick him'
3.6.1324.1

- (95) *katš šup*
katšə šup
one year
'one year'
3.6.39.1

Partitive types of constructions can be made by juxtaposing two nouns and by using the article 'a- to link them (example 96).

- (96) *'aštək ašup*
'a-štək 'a-šup
ART.I-tip ART-mountain
'the tip of the mountain'
3.6.68.1

Although this may seem unusual given the current understanding of the article 'a-, the article *si-* in Ventureño is also known to convey partitive semantics (Henry 2008). Thus, that Purisimeño should have an article that conveys the same information is not too unusual. This gives us further insight into the function of the article 'a-.

The word order of noun phrases would seem to affect the semantics of the phrase. In example (97) 'my bow' and 'earth' are not in the same phrase, and this is an observation of the bow lying on the earth. In example (98), 'my arrows' and 'earth' are in the same noun phrase,

the observation is that arrows upon the earth are lying somewhere (one might presume the earth, but this is not clear in the translation).

- (97) *kakaq soto mišup*
 ka-k-'aq s-'oto mišup
 ART.II-1.POSS-bow 3.SBJ-lie(.down) earth
 'my bow is lying on the earth'
 3.6.354.2

- (98) *kakya mišup soto*
 ka-k-ya mišup s-(')oto
 ART.II-1.POSS-arrow earth 3.SBJ-lie(.down)
 'my arrows on the earth are lying there'
 3.6.354.2

4.2.2 Predicate structure

Predicates are generally formed around a verb or adjective. Adjectives may be seen as a subtype of verb: one that takes most, but not all, affixes which other verbs do. If there is a default or preferred sentence structure, it would seem to be one that puts the predicate first. However, exceptions are noted in 4.1. Preference for predicate-initial phrases is given in examples (99)-(101).

- (99) *k'uw kašowo*
 k-'uw ka-šowo
 1.SBJ-eat ART.II-1.pespibata
 'I consume pespibata'
 3.6.385.2

- (100) *noxwaš ašup*
 nox-waš 'a-šup
 large-PST ART.I-mountain
 'large mountains'
 Perhaps more literally, 'the mountains are large'
 3.6.61.1

- (101) *wahatš 'ašlaštəwəks kamo*
 wahatš 'a-šlaštəwəks ka-mo
 many ART.I-medicine ART.II-man
 'the man has many medicines'
 3.71.748.1

4.3 Nominalization

Nominalization can be achieved through the use of a couple affixes in Purisimeño. Each affix has its particular use and semantics.

4.3.1 General nominalizer

The general nominalizer is *al-* (*a-* before consonants), and it functions to turn events into nominal parts of speech. This can be seen in (102) where the verb 'say' has been nominalized and used with the second article.

- (102) *nipsuynu kalipus*
 ni-p-suynu ka-al-'ipus
 NEG-2.SBJ-believe ART.II-NZ-say-
 'do not believe what he says!'
 3.6.27.2

4.3.2 Locative nominalizer

The locative nominalizer *-mu'y* nominalizes a verb and results in a location where said verb occurs as in example (103).

- (103) *kitikamu'y*
 'place where something forks'
 (Exact parse unclear.)
 3.6.441.1

4.4 Multi-verb clauses with no overt marking

The simplest complex clauses in Purisimeño arise from situations where two or more clauses are placed adjacent to each other without any morphology to indicate the relationship between the clauses. This is illustrated in example (104) where three verbs are linked with no overt marking.

- (104) *škəkš salinowo skutkuti*
 s-kəkš s-alinowo s-kuti.REDUP
 3.SBJ-do.oneself 3.SBJ-be.standing 3.SBJ-watch.REDUP
 ‘he was standing watching’
 3.6.362.1

Multi-verbal clauses can be made where the second verb receives no overt subject marking. This is seen in example (105) with the verb *na* ‘go,’ which is marked for tense, but not for subject. Since the subject is presumably the same for both clauses—*škəkš* and *nawaš* ‘*akawayu*’—it is unclear why no overt subject marking is needed in these other types of constructions. It may be that the main verb *kəkš* licenses the constructions in (104) and (105) with no overt marking linking the verbs, but it is unclear why the clauses in (104) and (105) would differ in subject marking.⁸

- (105) *škəkš nawaš ’akawayu*
 s-kəkš na-waš ’a-kawayu
 3.SBJ-do.oneself go-PST ART-horse
 ‘he went on horseback’
 3.6.354.2

Relative clauses are unmarked and similar to coordinated clauses as those in (104) and (105). Example (106) shows a relative clause ‘who stole my horse’ the verb of which has no overt marking indicating the clause’s dependent status. This is remarkable as other Chumashan languages, like Ventureño, do require dependent marking (Henry-Rodriguez 2019) in similar constructions.

- (106) *kšanima kamo šoṭṭonit kak^hawayu*
 k-sa-nima ka-mo s-’oṭṭon-it ka-k-kawayu
 1.SBJ-FUT-kill ART.II-man 3.SBJ-steal-1S.OBJ ART.II-1.POSS-horse
 ‘I am going to kill the man who stole my horse’
 3.6.360.1

4.5 Multi-verbal clauses with overt marking

Multi-verbal clauses with overt marking linking verbal elements are possible in Purisimeño.

⁸ There is a possibility that the subject in *škəkš* is non-referential and the verb is a zero-argument predicate. Such verbs are attested in Ventureño (see Ventureño *tuhuy* ‘to rain’ Henry-Rodriguez 2019: 402).

4.5.1 Adverbial clauses

The first such construction presented seems to be a type of adverbial clause (example 107). Here, the adjective *tšo* ‘good’ modifies the following dependent clause ‘that he leaves for his own house.’ Since adjectives can be functionally considered a subtype of verb, if they can be used in constructions such as those in (107), then it would be a further function of that word class. Adjectives would, then, not modify only nouns in Purisimeño.⁹

- (107) *tšo k^hupašna kasiy’ap*
tšo k^hupa-s-na ka-s-iy’ap
 good ?DEP-3.SBJ-go ART.II-3.POSS-house
 ‘it is good that he leaves for his own house’
 3.6.361.2

4.5.2 Complement clauses

Complement clause constructions can be formed through nominalization with the nominalizing prefix *al-* or, it would seem, the nominalizing nature of articles themselves. Examples of complement clauses are given in (108)-(110); the clauses have been bracketed for identification.

- (108) *nipsuynu [kalipus]!*
ni-p-suynu ka-al-ipus
 NEG-2.SBJ-believe ART.II-NZ-say
 ‘do not believe [what he says]!’
 3.6.360.2-361.1
- (109) *no ka ksaniwilenus [kaš^hašə]*
no ka k-sa-niwilen-us ka-s-sa-šə
 1S TOP 1.SBJ-FUT-tell-APL ART.II-3.SBJ-FUT-eat
 ‘I am going to tell him [that he should eat]’
 3.6.361.2
- (110) *ništšamən [aswiski’ kamitšaku]*
ni-s-tšamən a-s-wiski’ ka-mitšaku
 NEG-3.SBJ-know ART.I-3.SBJ-lie ART.II-boy
 ‘the boy does not know [how to lie]’
 3.6.360.2

⁹ Or, at least, they would not modify only elements which are clearly nominal.

4.6 Non-declarative sentences

In Purisimeño, imperative and interrogative constructions are or can be uniquely distinguished from declarative constructions.

4.6.1 Imperative constructions

Imperative constructions can be formed by leaving off the second person subject marking *p-* as in example (111). In this case, the absence of marking is meaningful. Despite this unique way of marking imperative constructions, forms of the imperative which do have second person marking on the verb (as in example 112) also exist. They are indistinguishable morphosyntactically from declarative statements.

- (111) *ikšit kakaputš!*
Ø-ikš-it ka-k-'aputšu
IMP-give-1S.OBJ ART.II-1.POSS-mortar
'give me my mortar!'
3.6.202.1

- (112) *paxakšit ka'alap̣a!*
p-axakš-it ka-'alap̣a
2.SBJ-give-1S.OBJ ART.II-abalone
'give me abalone!'
3.6.94.1

There is a dedicated prohibitive prefix that can go on negative imperative constructions. This is illustrated in example (113). Use of the prohibitive seems to be inconsistent, though, as prohibitions using only the negative *ni-* and the second person *p-* do occur (example 114).

- (113) *'inipaqmił* or *nipaqmi*¹⁰
'ini-p-aqmił ~ ni-p-aqmił
PROHB-2.SBJ-drink NEG-2.SBJ-drink
'do not drink it!'
3.6.382.1

¹⁰ Final lateral not included in the original. May be an error.

(114) *nipsuynu kalipus*
 ni-p-suynu ka-al-ip-us
 NEG-2.SBJ-believe ART.II-NZ-say-APPL
 ‘do not believe what he says!’
 3.6.360.2

4.6.2 Interrogative constructions

There are several ways in which to form questions in Purisimeño. With exception to tag questions, most interrogative constructions are formed with a proclitic on the verb. Various interrogative constructions are presented below with illustrative examples. It will be noted that some proclitics, such as *ti=*, have multiple uses, while others seem more specialized.

what constructions

These constructions can be formed several ways. There is use of the general interrogative *ti=* (example 116), as well as the proclitics *ta=* (example 116) and *tu=* (example 115).

(115) *ma tukipit?*
 ma tu=k-ip-it
 but INTRR=1.SBJ-say-1S.OBJ
 'but what am I going to say?'
 3.6.380.2

(116) *taptə* or *tisip aptə*
 ta=p-tə *ti=s-ip a-p-tə*
 INTRR-2.POSS-name INTRR-3.SBJ-say ART.I-2.POSS-name
 ‘what is your name?’
 3.6.383.2

why constructions

'Why' interrogative constructions are formed using the general interrogative proclitic *ti=* and a verb such as that in example (117).¹¹

¹¹ I have been left to guess that the verb here is probably *hayi* ‘to happen.’ While the consonant /h/ is phonemic in the language, its presence is used with some inconsistency.

- (117) *špašpaš. tisayi? š^hiliaqša?*
 s-paš.REDUP. ti-s-?hayi ? s-sili-aqša ?
 3.SBJ-vomit.REDUP INTRR-3.SBJ-?happen 3.SBJ-DES-die
 ‘he is vomiting.’ ‘why? is he sick?’
 3.6.397.1

who and whose constructions

‘Who’ interrogative constructions can be formed with the word *nikepku* (a combination of an interrogative element *nikep=* and the word for ‘person,’ *ku*). This is illustrated in example (118).¹²

- (118) *nikepku seqweł ?*
 nikep=ku s-eqweł
 who-person 3.SBJ-do/make
 ‘who did it? who would do it?’
 3.6.403.2

‘Who’ interrogative constructions are formed with the general interrogative proclitic *ti=* and a verb such as *yət* ‘to be someone.’ An example of this usage is given in (119). The translation of this particular verb is uncertain as it has one instance in the data.

- (119) *tipyətwašq*
 ti=p-yət-wašq
 INTRR=2.SBJ-?be.someone-PST
 ‘who are you?’
 3.6.318.2

To ask after the possessor of a referent, the proclitic *niki=* is attached to the possessed noun along with appropriate person and number pertensive marking (example 120).

- (120) *nikis^hutšu naña ?*
 niki=s-hutšu naña
 who=3.POSS-dog that
 ‘whose dog is that?’
 3.6.346.2

¹² There appears to be an element *p-* in *nikep=*, but what that might mean is unclear.

An important observation of *who* and *whose* constructions is that each seems to make use of an interrogative element *nikV-*. This element can be plainly seen in simple questions like that in example (121).

- (121) *nike pi*
 nike pi
 who 2s
 ‘who are you?’
 3.9.356.2

when constructions

When interrogative constructions are formed with the interrogative proclitic *tšo=* as in example (122). This proclitic does not seem to be merely an interrogative element asking after the time of an event, however, as it also shows up in prohibitive constructions such as those in example (123). The proclitic *tšo=* may then be a more general marker of irrealis.

- (122) *tšopnunašəšwaš*
 tšo=p-nunašəš-waš
 when=2.SBJ-arrive-PST
 when did you arrive?
 3.6.1647.1

- (123) *tšonipsuynu kalipus!*
 tšo=ni-p-suynu ka-al-ip-us
 IRR=NEG-2.SBJ-believe ART.II-NZ-say-APL
 ‘do not believe what he says?’
 3.6.361.1

Constructions asking after a time which are also formed with the immediate future¹³ on the main verb make use of an interrogative particle (proclitic?) *timi*. This can be seen in example (124).

¹³ The prefix *k^hu-* is presumed to be a variant of the immediate future *ku-*, but perhaps *k^hu-* means something altogether.

- (124) *timi k^hupakinane kakiy'ap ?*
 timi k^hu-p-ak^hina-ne ka-k-iy'ap
 when IMMD-2.SBJ-arrive-? ART.II-1.SBJ-house
 'when are you coming to our house?'
 3.6.361.1

where constructions

'Where' interrogative constructions, such as those in example (125), are formed with the general interrogative *ta=* and a verb encoding location or direction.

- (125) *ta palak^hinane*
 ta=p-alak^hinane
 INTRR-2.SBJ-come.from
 'from where do you come?'
 3.6.1648.1

Tag questions

Tag questions can be formed with the verbal suffix *-aš^ha*. This is illustrated in example (126).

- (126) *šx^honiyas^ha ?*
 s-x^honi-aš^ha
 3.SBJ-long-TAG
 'it was long, wasn't it?'

Other strategies of question formation

It seems that other verbal prefixes/proclitics which are not commonly used for question formation can still be used to do so. This is seen in the prefix *moq^ho* used in example (127). Presumably, this prefix is a shortening of the perfect *moloq-*, which is used to mark the perfect.

- (127) *moq^hopsawe ?*
 moq^ho-p-sa-we
 ?PRF-2.SBJ-FUT-sleep
 'are you going to bed already?'
 3.6.441.1

It must be considered that perfect (presumably) here carries no possible interrogative semantics and that the interrogative nature of the sentence derived from a non-morphosyntactic element, such as intonation.

5 Conclusions

There is enough Purisimeño data for us to see how unique and different the language is from its sisters. It is unfortunate that our understanding of Purisimeño's uniqueness is limited. It is the author's hope that this work will go far in disseminating the wonder and beauty of this most fascinating Chumashan language.

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